

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L NIAMEY 0189

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SUBJECT: NEW POLICY INITIATIVES IN AFRICA

REF: STATE 311031

1. WHAT IS THE REAL AFRICA THAT IS DESERVING OF OUR NEW
POLICY INITIATIVES? IS IT:

A. "MODERATE SMALLER COUNTRIES OF THE CONTINENT WHO
HAVE TRADITIONALLY BEEN OUR FRIENDS," OR

B. "SELECTED AFRICAN STATES EXHIBITING
CONSTRUCTIVE LEADERSHIP POTENTIAL ON THE CONTINENT AND IN
INTERNATIONAL FORUMS," OR

C. "KEY AFRICAN STATES, OR

D. "EXISTING AND POTENTIAL LEADER STATES WHERE OUR
RELATIONS NEED TO BE BOLSTERED," OR

E. COUNTRIES WHERE "...THE LEADERS SHARE WITH US
CERTAIN GOALS AND OBJECTIVES..." WHO "BELIEVE, HOWEVER,
THAT WE HAVE TENDED TO IGNORE THEM..." AND "BECAUSE THE
LEADERS OF THESE COUNTRIES CARRY SUBSTANTIAL POLITICAL
WEIGHT OR HAVE THE POTENTIAL TO EXERCISE CONSIDERABLE
INFLUENCE IN THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY," OR

F. IS IT ALL OF THE ABOVE?

2. MY INITIAL REACTION IS:

A. SURPRISE--THAT AFTER THE RINGING PROCLAMATIONS
DURING THE PAST YEAR AND THE VARIOUS U.S. ACTIONS THAT HAVE
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BEEN UNDERTAKEN, THAT WE ARE JUST NOW TRYING TO DESIGN NEW
POLICY INITIATIVES (WHAT DOES THAT MEAN?) FOR A CERTAIN
PART OF AFRICA.

B. CONFUSION--ABOUT THE TARGET OF THESE NEW POLICY
INITIATIVES. BLACK AFRICA HAS ALWAYS BEEN PERCEIVED DIMLY.

C. DISCOMFORT OVER A TONE OF PATRONIZATION IN REFTELS.
(HOW WOULD THE POTENTIAL LEADERS REACT TO REFTEL?) WHICH

LEADS TO

D. UNEASINESS, SUSPICION AND/OR IMPATIENCE--THAT WE ARE NOT YET PERSUADED BY A GUT CONVICTION THAT U.S. INTERESTS CAN BEST BE SERVED BY STRENGTHENED RELATIONS WITH AN AFRICA THAT IS BLACK BUT HAS MANY SHADES; AN AFRICA THAT IS DIVERSE BUT PERCEIVES ITSELF AS UNITED IN PRINCIPLE; AN AFRICA THAT IS AWARE OF ITS WEALTH AND ITS POVERTY; AN AFRICA THAT NEEDS A SIGN; THAT HOPES TO BE CONVINCED THAT IT CAN RELY ON OUR SINCERITY OF PURPOSE AND TRUST IN OUR FIDELITY.

3. I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THERE IS MORE THAN ONE TARGET AND MORE THAN ONE OBJECTIVE TO BE PURSUED. I WOULD SUGGEST ALSO THAT SEVERAL COURSES OF SUSTAINED ACTION NEED TO BE INITIATED.

4. IF THE STRATEGY HAS SUBSTANCE, THE SUBSTANCE WILL PRODUCE THE DESIRED PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT. THE MOVES THAT ARE SUGGESTED REFTEL ARE GOOD AND WILL PROVIDE EGO SATISFACTION TO SOME OF THE "LEADERS." IS THAT ENOUGH? CAN WE PROJECT A LIFE EXPECTANCY OR "POTENTIAL/ OF TEN YEARS FOR THOSE LEADERS LISTED IN REFTEL?

5. FOR A "FAR OUT" SUGGESTION, WHY NOT PERSUADE OUR FRIENDS, THE NIGERIANS, ALONG WITH OTHER OPEC COUNTRIES TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO AN OAU/AID MANAGED FUND
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TO PURCHASE LONG TERM SCHOOLING, TRAINING FOR LARGE NUMBERS OF AFRICANS FROM MODERATE SMALL STATES--FRANCOPHONE AS WELL AS ANGLOPHONE--SOMEWHAT ON THE MODEL OF THE CURRENT NIGERIAN PROGRAM. EACH OF THE SMALLER STATES COULD BE ASKED TO MAKE TOKEN CONTRIBUTIONS. THIS COULD BE MANAGED BY AID BUT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO HAVE A SPECIAL GROUP OF U.S. EXPERTS ALONG WITH AFRICANS IF ONE CAN AVOID THE EXPENSE OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL BODY. THE OBJECTIVE IS OBVIOUS--A CONCERTED EFFORT TO EDUCATE OR TRAIN, I.E. DEVELOP HUMAN RESOURCES IN AFRICA, ON A GRANDER SCALE THAN ANYTHING ATTEMPTED BEFORE. SUCH AN EFFORT SHOULD BE DEPOLITICIZED, THEREBY AFFORDING U.S. A GREAT POLITICAL ADVANTAGE.

6. IN ADDITIONAL DIPLOMATIC ACTION SIMPLY SUGGESTS GREATER SENSITIVITY OVERTLY EXPRESSED. THAT IS THE WAY IT OUGHT TO BE BUT IT JUST IS NOT ENOUGH TO BREAK THROUGH THE CRUST OF DOUBT AND SUSPICION, IF NOT HOSTILITY IN AFRICA, THAT YEARS OF U.S. INSENSITIVITY HAVE HELPED PRODUCE.

7. I WOULD SUGGEST A THOROUGH ANALYSIS OF THE FORMAL AND INFORMAL REGIONAL GROUPINGS THAT EXIST IN AFRICA AND

THE ISSUES WHICH THESE GROUPINGS SEEK TO ADDRESS OR THE
FEARS WHICH THEY SHARE. WHO ARE THE LEADERS?

8. THIS IS A SMALL OFFERING FOR A BIG SUBJECT. IT IS
HEARTENING THAT AF IS TRYING. JAMES

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